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THIS IS YOUR FIGHT

Will you be silenced?

Before long, you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men, who in their secret hearts are still at one with the speakers, as earlier, but do not dare to say so now. . . .

Next, the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame on the nation that is attacked. . . .

—MARK TWAIN, from his essay on warmakers quoted in NATIONAL GUARDIAN, July 12.

DETAIL by detail, these prophetic words set down by Mark Twain in the last century were never truer than today. Stones, nightsticks — anathema in the press, on the radio and from government itself — are the lot of the peacemakers.

Yet peace can never be won by knuckling under to the club-swingers and the "hordes of furious men." It can be won only by bold and open adherence to the true propositions of our time which cannot be altered by the cheap lies of statesmen bent on unjust war:

1. There is not a decent, humane reason why a single American life should be sacrificed in a conflict with the people of Korea.

2. There is no decent reason why a single American dollar should be spent to prevent the Korean people from taking over their long-occupied country and running it by and for themselves.

3. There is no occasion for any American to sacrifice a single liberty—including the right to speak, write, read, criticize and travel freely — to accommodate a policy of war against peoples seeking to be free.

4. The terrible danger in the world today is not the threat of communist aggression, but rather that the wealth and power of the United States — a nation itself conceived in liberty 175 years ago — will be used everywhere in the world to choke and kill the efforts of any people anywhere to control and better their own lives.

THE bi-partisan Administration which has run our country since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt has already demonstrated its determination to hold the peoples of the world in a status quo of oppression and colonial rule.

In Greece, where this policy was first administered, it has succeeded in prostrating the world's oldest democracy to outright fascism. In China, the people have fought our armaments to a standstill or better. In South Korea, a people with the lowest living standard in the world are joining with their brothers from the North to expel a hateful puppet regime, backed, armed and now actually replaced in force by every death-dealing instrument in our arsenal except the atom bomb itself.

Today, as in China and Korea, so in these United States the fight for liberty, political decency and a peaceful world is in the hands of the people themselves.

It is your own fight, a fight for self-preservation, to retain and exercise the right of criticism — the right to speak your mind and read and write as you please — the right to petition for peace, broadcast the facts to offset the cheap lies of the warmakers.

THERE is a Mundt-Ferguson Bill now in Congress to stop you from doing these things. There is a Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill to take care of you if you refuse to stop. There is a Dept. of "Justice" prepared with a list of more than 12,000 Americans for a starter — and as many as a half million, according to the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover — who are slated to inhabit Dixiecrat Hobbs' concentration camps.

These things are in store for you — let alone the dreadful loss of sons and brothers, and this time our cities and homes, in a new World War — once you are silenced.

Will you be silenced?

Or will you speak out now — today — to your President, to your senators and congressmen, to your mayors and city councils, demanding your right to remain a free citizen of a free country and your right to generations of peace and decency in a constructive world?

—THE EDITORS

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak. . . .
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right, with two or three.
—James Russell Lowell

Stormtroopers in the streets of New York

On Wednesday, August 2, 1,000 police with feet and fists and charging horses prevented peaceful New Yorkers from demonstrating for peace in Union Square. One of the victims was John Evans, 22, a Negro, who was hurled to the street, shoved under a parked car, kicked and beaten. A detective held his foot down on Evans' neck and another twisted his arm until the tortured victim said "Mister." For the full story of police brutality, see the news roundup. For stories of spreading fascism all over the U. S. A., see page 8.

...PRESENT DANGER

Yes, it can happen here

PAGE 8

THE REAL STORY

What happened at the UN

PAGE 3

As Shakespeare said

By Aaron Kramer

MY love for America
is not pinned to my lapel.
If I had a house,
with lawns around it,
my love would not flutter
here.
If I owned a radio station,
my love would not be broadcast on the hour.

Lear had three daughters
—as Shakespeare tells.
Two pledged allegiance,
sang passionate hymns.
Two sucked him dry,
and devoured his kingdom.
But when the storms came,
and their gates showed no
mercy,
the third one,
the outcast,
fought to the death for him.

As King Lear learned,
my country will learn
—when the storms come,
when her retinue's vanished—
who among her children
truly love her.

(From Aaron Kramer's forthcoming collection of poems, THRU EVERY WINDOW).

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

Stay with Gideon's army

WEST LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Dear Mr. Wallace: I have studied your statement as well as the National Committee's and I find myself, for the first time, in sharp disagreement with you.

Certainly I wish to see the end of hostilities in Korea. I believe that a properly qualified UN agency could have great weight in concluding hostilities, negotiating a settlement, and supervising an election in Korea. Can you believe, however, that the North Koreans would trust such mediators as the presently constituted "alliance of the Western Nations against Russia and her satellites?" It is much more logical to assume that the admission of the New China would help a great deal in ending this conflict.

I yield to no one in my love and loyalty to my country. I do not, however, feel that the loyalty to one's country consists of unquestioning obedience and support of the administration and its actions.

I appeal to you to stay with the "Gideon's army" that you helped to create. Where else can you go: to the party of the loyalty purges, the cold war, the North Atlantic Pact and the Truman doctrine?

Maury Mitchell

Not so far apart

WASHINGTON, D. C.

In terms of a positive program of action, Mr. Wallace and the National Committee seem to be very much in agreement: both want to see peace in Korea, and a democratic government set up established by the Koreans themselves under no external duress. Both stress the importance of an extensive aid program supervised by the UN.

Let us then unite around this program and if possible make it more meaningful to thousands of other Americans who should be in the Progressive fold.

Shirley Steinman

Let's be positive

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Positive actions rather than negative nibbling at the current U.S. policy must become the keynote of the GUARDIAN's editorials. We have to fight for an international policy which will help the Indo-Chinese, the Malayans, and the Koreans, not against U.S. tactics in doing this or that particular thing. We have to propose some positive, concrete plans for U.S. action in suppressed areas of the world. In light of the Russian-U.S. situation it is totally unrealistic to expect popular support for a strictly non-interventionist U.S. policy. The U.S. is a world power so it must intervene in one way or another. The job is to get popular support mobilized behind the right kind of action. If we can do this we automatically defeat imperialism and reaction. H. O.

Why Koreans don't love Americans

NEWARK, N. J.

I was stationed in Seoul, as a G.I. during the first year of Korean occupation. I remember how the Koreans went out of their way to be friendly when the first United States troops arrived. The parades and banners: "Well-come Our American Allies," "Hello Joe, Our Liberators." Not the best English, but significant and clear. I also recall how time and abuse changed those early sentiments. In Seoul I saw jeeps sideswiping civilians when they were slow to move out of the way; soldiers cursing civilians; disparaging remarks about Korean lethargy, backwardness, hygiene, sanitary facilities and women. Even then the attitude was "rather widespread." Certainly it did plenty of damage.

Fradley H. Garner
in a letter to the N.Y. Times

No applause

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We of the ALP 5th North AD endorse the statement of the National Committee. We take courage from the principled stand of the Progressive Party and the unity of the Party in the face of the critical situation.

In New York City, our members report that at newsreel showings of the Korean war, there has been no applause even for pictures of MacArthur and President Truman. Although people are afraid to talk against President Truman's policies, they will not applaud them.

Fellow Progressives, we are not alone. Church groups and many other groups not identified with our Party stand with us. The average American, though afraid, agrees with us. John Mills, chairman

Inspiration and education

LEE, MASS.

Enclosed is check for $50 to help keep the GUARDIAN going. Keep it going just as long as possible. Every issue is an inspiration and education and we need both!

Margaret Shipman

A million a head

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

According to Treasury reports the paytriotic gentlemen who remained safely at home during World War II made a profit, after paying taxes, of one million dollars for each American boy that was killed in that fight for democracy.

With improved profit-making facilities it is probable that they can make more than a million on each boy killed in the Korean war. These facts may give consolation to the relatives and friends of the boys that have been, and are being, killed in the New War. Frank Simpson

The tenements split

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I send $25. It is almost one half of my take home pay. I do not think this is so good. I would be a war criminal in a small way to send less.

The press reported 1,000 tons of bombs dropped on the bridges of Seoul. How many bridges can there be in the city of Seoul? It reported 200 tons of bombs dropped on the railroads of Pyongyang through a cloud overcast, without visibility, by the use of radar. In Italy, our bombers pin-point-bombed railroads and I saw the rails intact. Rails are steel and lie close to the ground and offer little resistance to blast. But the tenements near the railroad were split open. O. Hansen

They smell a mice

ERWIN, TENN.

I live away out in the woods, two miles from nearest neighbor, and yesterday went to town for the first time since the Korean fiasco started. Our town's 8,000 souls are mostly pottery workers, farmers, log-rollers and railroad workers. I sampled opinions all day about the streets, depot, etc. Conclusions:

(1) Truman's stock has taken a big sock. (2) Trust in the 2 Hoovers (J. Edgar and the one up in Waldorf Towers), newspapers and radio and Congress has slipped like a glacier in travail.

The people are beginning to "smell a mice," as one old humpbacked farmer of 80 told me—a man who has worked hard a lifetime and got nowhere and is thinking. He didn't know exactly what "fascism" is but knew well enough Truman was preparing to "put us all under the army." Said a saleswoman—a respectable church-worker and a mother: "The milk of human unkindness up in Washington is beginning to sour. Everyone knows the nation is broke, we have no business in Korea, Congress and the White House are full of crooks, and nobody is paying near the tax that the working people are."

A few months ago the suggestion that the U.S. might get beat in a new world war would have been accepted with tight lips and an angry eye. Not so now. There seems to have come a wave of light over all the people hereabouts: they seem sure Uncle Sam can and will be defeated if he doesn't keep out of Asia. And it was surprising—rather alarming—to be told time and time again that Truman would "sure as shootin' be hung if he starts a real war." They haven't at all forgotten Nuremberg, even if our beloved little President has. Ernest Seeman

"Wallace is the same"

COLCHESTER, VT.

Before Wallace declared his views on the Korean situation I announced my intention to terminate my membership with the party, unless the party as a whole disagreed as I did with the stand taken by our local chapter against UN action on Korea.

Until someone can disprove with statistics my generalization based on Burlington, Vt.'s specific experience of loss of the majority of its members as of 1948, I will believe that the overwhelming majority of rank and file members of the P.P. as of 1948 are in agreement with Wallace. Wallace is the same as he was in 1948, but the party isn't.

There is plenty of opportunity to work for peace in non-partisan organizations which I believe are more effective because they are non-partisan. I will continue to keep informed of the P.P. through the GUARDIAN and will seek as always areas of agreement which will lead to cooperative action.

Martha D. Kennedy

Questions and answers

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

Your "timetable of events in Korea" (July 26) unsatisfactorily answers the following questions:

1. Is it logical that the "full scale offensive" of South Koreans was so quickly put to rout by a hastily organized North Korean counter-offensive?

2. If, as you infer, the S. Koreans planned their offensive with U.S. backing, why weren't American troops prepared to enter Korea in force when hostilities began? Or do you believe that the State Dept. and Rhee planned the fantastic stunt of drawing N. Korea into their present invasion so that they could then point to the North Koreans as the true aggressors?

3. If S. Korea was actually the aggressor, why didn't N. Korea accept the U.N.'s cease-fire order instead of continuing its drive into S. Korean territory? Arthur Mazer

The GUARDIAN never said that the N. Korean forces were a "hastily organized" outfit. Hanson Baldwin, Max Werner and others have pointed out that the U.S. woefully underestimated the N. Korean army. In several issues we have quoted U.S. officials on the strength of the S. Koreans. William C. Foster, ECA deputy administrator in S. Korea, told the Senate that the S. Koreans had "a well-disciplined army of 100,000 . . . prepared to meet any challenge." Evidence indicates that it was believed the S. Korean army and the U.S. Air Force could take care of the situation if hostilities broke out. Reader Mazer also forgets the strong feeling of the Koreans themselves. Syngman Rhee was royally hated north and south, as testified by wholesale desertions by the S. Korean army and Legislature. The burning desire for unity was and is manifested. Ed.

The right to peace

OAKLAND, CALIF.

President Harry Truman: If you, as the head of the U.S. Government, wish to save our country from ruin and infamy, you will call for mediation of the Korean problem by representation of both North and South before a fully constituted UN meeting, for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an end to the cold war.

We have a right to a solution of our problems peacefully. Ten billion dollars could go a long way here at home, toward jobs, housing, schools, and all the myriad public works our country needs to fulfill its great destiny.

Action on war seems to come about quickly enough. What about peace? Mrs. Jean Ryden

Agnes Smedley's prophecy

WATERTOWN, WISC.

In the New Republic of May 29, 1950, Harod Ickes reveals how Miss Smedley died an untimely death as a result of Gen. MacArthur's having called her, slanderously, a "Soviet spy who was still at large." I believe that this war could be stopped if reprints of Miss Smedley's prophetic article (July 26 GUARDIAN) could be put into the hands of every representative of a foreign government in this country (strictly excepting those of Chiang's Formosa regime), and above all, the several members of the Security Council.

Let not Miss Smedley's persecution have been in vain. Lucy Hall

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And, last but not least, $5 from you now, plus the added subscribers we are certain to gain (if you will simply undertake to hand a few papers around each week) are your best insurance that the GUARDIAN will be here for a while.

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UNITED NATIONS

U. S. wins votes, loses allies

IN the high diplomatic chess game at Lake Success last week the U. S. won the votes; the Soviet Union won new allies and some significant victories in prying open the U. S. bloc. N. Y. Times diplomatic correspondent James Reston concluded Aug. 6:

> **The U. S. won a parliamentary victory over the Soviet Union in the UN this week, but in Asia where the propaganda issue really counts, we apparently didn't do so well.**

He complained that "the U. S. has not brought to the Council chamber its best argmuents or its best men." Of U. S. representative Warren Austin, fomer Republican Senator from Vermont of apopletic temperament, Reston said: "He was not our best." To most observers this was an understatement. Austin was pompous, irascible, kept losing his temper with prefabricated explosions. He was like a Union League club member who has had his gouty foot stepped on by the waiter, then pulls a prepared denunciation out of his pocket. In contrast, Soviet delegate Jacob Malik displayed

WARREN AUSTIN
Victory in vote, but...

cool self-possession, spoke — usually without a prepared speech—to the point and with barbed irony.

WILLING TO COMPROMISE: A notable fact—completely kept from the American public by radio and press—was the conciliatory approach of the Soviet Union. Malik was willing to include the U. S. draft resolution on the agenda; the U. S. was not willing to permit discussion of the Soviet proposals, even after it had won first place for its own resolution. Malik urged inviting representatives from both sides in the Korean war; the U. S. insisted only its side be heard. As Council president, Malik spoke and ruled with propriety and impartiality. As Soviet delegate, he fought hard and skillfully for the Soviet viewpoint.

One of the most significant developments was the role of India. In four votes taken, India voted three times with the Soviet Union and abstained once. India's position reflected the great popular pressure from the people on its pro-Western government. The Indian people oppose the U. S. in Korea and on the China question. Prime Minister Nehru, speaking before the Parliament in New Delhi last week, lashed out at the Western powers and their "new colonialism." (The following day he criticized Russia.) He said:

> **"The fate of Asia is still being determined by statesmen of the Western world. I wish to point out that any attempt to solve the problems of Asia without taking Asia into consideration is not the way of solving the problem."**

The Indian Parliament voted to support Nehru's position. The N. Y. **Times** commented:

> **There is considerable opposition to this resolution, but the Congress party members, who form the overwhelming majority in the Assembly, have received strict instructions to vote for the resolution and not to speak against it.**

Another significant break in the U. S. bloc came on the China question: For

THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS IN HISTORIC SESSION AT LAKE SUCCESS
Russia's Malik (left) answers Britain's Gladwyn Jebb (2nd from right at table) as U. S. A.'s Austin (right) takes notes

the first time four countries—India, Norway, Yugoslavia and Britain—voted with the Soviet Union to take up the question of China's representation.

SECRET DOCUMENTS: In Council sessions to date no mention has been made of a voluminous mass of top secret documents of the South Korean Foreign Ministry and the UN Commission in Korea, left behind in Seoul and captured by the North Koreans. They are now, according to reliable reports, in the possession of the Soviet delegation at Lake Success.

The documents are reported to contain a full account of John Foster Dulles' talks and activities in Seoul this June; U. S. recommendations to the UN Commission regarding the undesirability of unifying Korea, except by permiting the South to take over the North; minutes of cabinet meetings at which the invasion of the North was planned. The UN Commission is said to have left behind in Seoul not only its code book but its decoding machine.

Here is a day-by-day account of the Security Council sessions:

1st day

At 2:56 p.m. August 1 Soviet UN delegate Jacob Malik walked into the smoke-filled delegates' lounge at Lake Success. Russia's handsome former ambassador in Japan was promptly surrounded by photographers and correspondents. He had to be rescued by the secretariat.

As president of the Security Council, Malik called its 480th meeting to order and promptly handed down a momentous ruling: that

> **the representative of the Kuomintang group seated in the Security Council does not represent China and cannot therefore take part in the meetings of the Security Council.**

U. S. delegate Warren Austin challenged the authority of the president to rule "on the status of the representative of a country that is a member of UN." There was dead silence. Malik looked about: "Does silence mean consent?" Stung, Sir Gladwyn Jebb (Britain) and Jean Chauvel (France) rose to back the U. S. position.

FORMOSAN "IMPOSTORS": Speaking not as president of the Council but as a representative of the U. S. S. R., Malik said it was no surprise that the first challenge to his ruling came from the U. S.: it was the U. S. that had "blocked

JACOB A. MALIK
The words were often bitter

the normal settlement" of China's UN representation, and aided an "impostor who represents no one" (the Kuomintang group in Formosa) to usurp China's lawful place in the Council. Said Malik:

> **"The head of the U. S. government has shown by his recent order to the Kuomintang group that the U. S. government treats that group like one of its own subordinate departments."**

Rule 17—that any representative to whose credentials objection has been made shall continue to sit until the Security Council decides the matter—had been quoted against Malik's ruling. Malik said that rule had no bearing: the issue did not concern an "accredited representative of a member state" but a usurper.

FAWZI BEY & BENEGAL RAU
Egypt and India were independent

INDIA STEPS OUT: India's Benegal Rau then spoke up. He said the issue of Chinese representation had divided the Council since January and might destroy it if not settled. He therefore voted to uphold Malik's ruling, as did Ales Bebler for Yugoslavia. But it was voted down (7 votes are required to overrule the President) by Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Norway, Britain and the U. S.—and the Formosan representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang. Calling the decision "illegal," Malik promised the U. S. S. R. would continue to raise the question. He did not mention what was in the minds of many—that the three countries voting "for" represented twice as many people as the seven "against."

Then the agenda had to be agreed on. In accordance with established rules of procedure, Malik had circulated to Council members on July 31 a provisional agenda consisting of two items: 1) "Recognition of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the representative of China"; 2) "Peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

But the U. S., at the Security Council meeting July 31, had introduced a draft resolution dealing with charges of North Korean aggression against South Korea. Austin had explicitly asked that his resolution not be taken up that day but be put on the agenda for the August 1 meeting.

AUSTIN vs. TRUMAN: Now Austin took up his own cue. He moved to substitute his resolution for the President's provisional agenda.

This procedural question was argued bitterly for the next two days. The U. S. press pictured the procedural fight as a Soviet effort to tie up the Council's work. Malik suggested that Austin's item be placed on the agenda along with the two items submitted by himself. But the U. S. insisted on throwing out both Russian proposals and considering only its own.

One of the arguments Austin used was that the Korean question and the recognition of China were separate and must not be linked. To this Malik replied:

> **"The President of the U. S. himself has linked the Chinese and Korean questions together. In ordering his armed forces . . . to begin armed intervention in Korea's domestic affairs, the President also decided in passing to seize Formosa by ordering the 7th Fleet virtually to occupy that island. What grounds has the U. S. representative now for asserting that the two are absolutely distinct questions? There is no logic in such a statement. Mr. Austin apparently does not agree with the President's decision."**

CONSTRUCTIVE "PROPAGANDA": Was not peaceful settlement of the Korean war the prime order of business? Malik insisted it was, and

> **"not the continuation of military operations as the U. S. representative is proposing. It is not by chance that he fears the words 'peace' and 'peaceful settlement.'"**

Malik accused the U. S. of calling peace moves "propaganda" because it had no arguments against the peaceful settlement proposal:

> **"Let me ask the U. S. representative: Is it a crime to make propaganda for peace? Is propaganda for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question an unacceptable proposition, deserving of condemnation?"**

The peace move of India's Prime Minister Nehru—its rejection by Secy. Acheson—was proof, said Malik, that U. S. policy "is based not on peace but

(Continued on following page)

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[ ] Soviet Russia: the Land and Its People, by Nicholas Mikhailov, leading Soviet geographer.

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on war and aggression." He accused U.S. ruling circles" of fearing that

"... if the Security Council were to operate with its full legal membership, they would be unable to transform it into their obedient tool of aggression against the Korean people to be used to conceal new acts of aggression and to launch a new war."

2nd day

England, France, Cuba, Ecuador, Norway, and Dr. Tsiang for Chiang Kai-shek took up the cudgels for the U.S.; Britain's Jebb complained bitterly of Malik's "upside-down language." Convincing reasons why the Council should not discuss "peaceful settlement of the Korean question" were not produced. Correspondents said several delegations normally in the U.S. pocket were upset at having to go on record as if they were against peace. (The U.S. Senate the day before had voted to halt Marshall Plan aid to any country that failed to support the U.S. resolution in the UN.)

The question of China's representation was even more upsetting to the Western majority. For, as the Chicago **Daily News** reported, "an increasing number of UN delegates believe the U.S. should recognize Communist China and pave the way for its admission to the world peace organization." The five Council nations that recognize China were disturbed by Austin's increasing support of Chiang. Austin argued that China could not be admitted because it had condemned the UN action in Korea. Dr Tsiang, unconsciously supporting the Soviet view that the Korean war is a civil war, equated the war in Korea with the war that drove Chiang out of China.

3rd day

The August 3 meeting was the most tense in UN history. In a major speech Malik marshalled an array of facts and argument to back his charge that the U.S. is guilty of aggression against Korea. He showed photographs of John Foster Dulles and U.S. Ambassador Muccio surrounded by South Korean officers in trenches at the 38th parallel. He doubted that anyone would believe "Mr. Dulles and Mr. Muccio were in those trenches picking violets."

Austin flailed his arms, his voice shook with righteous indignation; but he avoided the charges. Malik then said the U.S. was attempting blackmail but had sent its threats to the wrong address.

THE VOTES: In a dramatic few moments at the close of the session the Council took four votes. India again supported Malik, but his ruling that agenda items should be voted upon in order of their submission was overruled. Then in a vote on the U.S. draft

Action, Paris

"Did you ring, sir?"

resolution, Yugoslavia and India abstained; Russia voted against; the rest voted for.

The next vote was on inclusion in the agenda of the Soviet proposal for China's admission. Five nations—England, Yugoslavia, Russia, India, Norway—voted for; five (counting Tsiang) against. Egypt abstained. It was therefore defeated.

Finally came the vote on inclusion in the agenda of the Soviet proposal for peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Egypt, India and Russia voted for. Yugoslavia abstained. The rest voted against. James Reston in the **Times** commented that "to vote it [peaceful settlement] off the tail end of the agenda even after we had won all other points gave Mr. Malik precisely the kind of illustration he needed

Daily Worker, London

"Gentlemen, shall we sit down—around the table?"

to argue that we were against 'peace' in Korea."

The August 4 meeting therefore took up the U.S. resolution: "Complaint of aggression against the Korean Republic." Malik promptly introduced a Russian resolution to invite a Chinese representative and a representative of North as well as South Korea to the discussion.

OLD AMERICAN CUSTOM: At the same time, his resolution proposed simultaneous ending of hostilities in Korea and withdrawal of foreign troops. In asking that both sides be heard, Malik pointed to precedents set in Council discussions of the Indonesian and Palestine problems. He also argued—an old principle of American law—that a man has a right to be heard before he is adjudged guilty.

Austin declared the North Korean regime had no right to be heard because it was in "contempt" of the UN. [North Korean representatives have twice journeyed round the world in the last three years to present their case to the UN and always been refused a hearing.]

Malik adjourned the session until August 8 to permit delegates to get instructions from their governments.

WAR & PEACE

Can anyone control M'Arthur?

GEN. MacARTHUR flew to Formosa island last week for a talk with its discredited dictator Chiang Kai-shek. Afterwards U.S. naval patrols were reinforced, U.S. jet planes arrived, and Chiang was reported "jubilant" over agreements reached for "joint defense of Formosa and Sino-American military co-operation."

The talk took place while at Lake Success the U.S.'s Warren Austin was (as James Reston wrote in the N.Y. **Times**)

... trying to minimize discussion of the controversial U.S.-Chiang-Formosa policies. Truman, who knew nothing of MacArthur's visit beforehand, immediately sent his foreign affairs assistant, W. Averell Harriman, to Japan to tell the general to improve his timing.

How much Harriman would or could do to check MacArthur's determination to run U.S. policy was a question. MacArthur, Tokyo correspondents reported, told him the U.S. must "go all out" in fighting communism all over Asia. A wealthy partner of Brown Bros. Harriman, which financed German industry before World War II, Harriman has a record of major responsibility for sabotaging FDR's policy of cooperation with Russia. When Roosevelt died Harriman, then Ambassador to Moscow, returned to tell Truman Russia was bent on world domination and must be stopped by force. At the 1945 UN conference in San Francisco it was Harriman who sold this line to newsmen and delegates.

WEAPON MYTHS: In Korea MacArthur's beach-head was now 100 miles in length and 30 to 50 in depth. It continued to shrink as U.S. reinforcements estimated at 50 to 80,000 men, armed with flame-throwers, heavy artillery and Pershing tanks, went into action. Newspapers were still reporting that the North Korean army is equipped with the latest Soviet weapons, tanks and even jet planes, while intelligence officers flatly contradicted it. Walter Sullivan wrote from Tokyo to the N.Y. **Times** last week:

Latest estimates are that neither the North Korean Army nor the Air Force has any postwar Soviet weapons. The latest date known to have been observed on the nameplates of captured equipment is 1945, except possibly for trucks. A recent report that Communist-flown jet planes had been sighted over South Korea is now evaluated as an error of identification.

The North Koreans, said Sullivan, are using "a wide assortment" of weapons "even including some World War I rifles" and "weapons captured" from MacArthur's men. Another Sullivan report (July 30)—again quoting MacArthur's intelligence officers—weakened the claim that the attack was launched from the North. Sullivan wrote:

The North Korean Army had not carried out its mobilization plan at the time the war began June 25.

PEOPLE'S WAR: U.S. troops were fighting near areas where guerrilla warfare against Syngman Rhee's government raged for three years. In Pusan the N.Y. **Times** reported leaflets urging the populace to rise were spread by guerrillas, and that small arms were disappearing as they were unloaded from ships. Said Maj. Gen. Church:

"This is an entirely different kind of warfare. This is really guerrilla warfare. This is almost entirely infantry warfare and it's going to stay that way."

Front, Brussels

"General, I have a guy here who says he's an expert in the suppression of all types of guerrillas."

MacArthur's "scorched earth" tactics indicated the breadth of popular support for the North Korean army. United Press reported July 31 and Aug. 3:

Native houses were put to the torch and towering smoke clouds rose over the front from Hwanggan to Kumchon. . . . [The U.S. Air Force] spent the day burning villages. . . . Scores of villages [were reduced to] flaming ruins.

"Terror raids" by U.S. bombers, reported on the North Korean radio, wiped out hospitals, schools, and homes in Wusan (N. Korea); one-third of the victims were children, 45% women. The U.S. Air Force said it had virtually destroyed the city. Three correspondents in the North—British, French and Chinese—issued a protest statement:

We can confirm as a result of our investigations that American bombings accompanied by machine gunnings and rocket strafing are entirely terror raids.

AGAINST THE TERROR: London **Observer** correspondent Michael Davidson cabled:

I have seen—and I hope one day to forget—what the South Korean police do to prisoners.

The London **Times** correspondent wrote:

The S. Korean police brought several hundreds of the more prominent Communists with them. Unable to bring them farther because of transport difficulties, they took them into the hills, made them dig a communal grave and shot them. People who have witnessed these horrible spectacles say that often the prisoners die shouting Communist slogans.

The list of prominent non- or anti-Communist Southern Koreans who have gone over to the People's Republic of the North was growing. Last week 48 additional members of the S. Korean parliament signed statements blaming the U.S. for the war and pledging support to the People's Republic. Up to July 13 over 100 high officials and members of the S. Korean parliament had sworn allegiance to the North. About 75% of the S. Korean army deserted to the North in the initial days of the war.

Even bankers note the smell

AS the facts came in about the Korean war, more Americans were speaking out against it, still more expressed doubts and fears. This is what they said:

IOWA UNION FARMER: "We point-blank refuse to peddle the delusion that the Korean adventure is the way to peace. . . . The history of civilization, and certainly the short history of our own great country, is star-studded with the illustrious record of individuals who dared to reject the jingoistic brand of patriotism for the real thing. We can only hope that most Americans will not deal too harshly with the rebels of the present as they eulogize the real patriots who were the rebels of the past."

OREGON FARMERS UNION: "It is futile to expect a democratic foreign policy to emerge from the thinking of Wall St. lawyers, ex-Wall St. bankers, big industrialists and ex-generals."

J. E. FADLING, president Intl. Woodworkers, CIO (commending former IWA business agent Stanley Earl, who served as ECA labor adviser in S. Korea, for his forthright stand on the war): "If men like Taft and Hartley do not hesitate to put their heel on the neck of labor in this country, then how in hell can we expect them to do any different in countries such as Korea?"

SEN. GLEN TAYLOR (former PP vice-presidential candidate, now involved in a bitter primary campaign): "I am proud of my stand on Korea [opposition to sending arms]. . . . People in many parts of the world are in dire need and the siren sound of the Communists sounds good to them. I am convinced that if war with Russia should break out, we would shortly be left with Canada as our only useful ally."

While "liberals" proclaimed it a "UN war for freedom," a big business spokesman—former banker Dr. Melchio Palyi — wrote in the **Commercial & Financial Chronicle:**

The fact is that the UN's function today is what great power alliances and conferences used to perform in the past, ever since the Holy Alliance. . . . The role of our allies is that of auxiliaries and satellites in all but name. . . . We have underwritten Europe's remaining colonial empires as well as the highly semi-totalitarian structures which grew out of them.

'Democracy' recruits fascist 'bulwarks'

JOHN Foster Dulles, a leading architect of the cold war and of the hot war in Korea, last week demanded rearmament of Germany and Japan as "equal partners within the framework of a European, a Pacific, or a United Nations effort" (a veto-less UN, he made clear). This was a logical development of the Dulles-Herbert Hoover thesis, first publicly advanced in 1947, that Germany in the west and Japan in the east are the "bulwarks" of "western civilization."

Dulles' protege, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the same week called for the

Prace, Prague

ITEM: Japanese ex-airmen are being recruited for U.S. air units

"What was your first solo flight?"
"In the attack on Pearl Harbor."

use of German manpower:

"When you're fighting for your life—and that is what we are doing—you take the

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

help of anyone who will give it to you. You don't ask if he's got a little corruption under the table as long as he can fire a gun and keep American boys from being killed."

In the Senate Scott Lucas (D-Ill.), majority leader, promised the question of German and Japanese rearmament would soon

"...be worked out to the satisfaction of all the allies...I know the German soldier is one of the best fighters on the continent of Europe today, as the Japanese soldier was in the Far East. If German and Japanese soldiers were armed they would give a good account of themselves."

"THE NORMAL THING": The rearmament of Germany and Japan had already begun. **U. S. News** reported Aug. 4:

Rearming of Japan as a barrier against the spread of Russian Communism already is being started by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur.

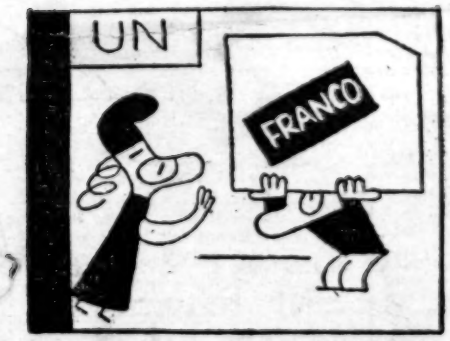
A Japanese police force of 75,000 men "along military lines" is in formation. Japanese Premier Yoshida said the new police force "must not lead to revival of thought control or a police state." In the last six weeks MacArthur has suppressed 300 newspapers, virtually outlawed the Communist Party.

In Western Germany, according to the same magazine, "an army-like police force is being prepared." The West German police force has been boosted from 95,000 to 105,000 men as curbs were prepared on the Communist Party. The N.Y. **Times** reported recently that the U.S. Air Force in Wiesbaden

...called an unspecified number of former Luftwaffe airmen. An Air Force spokesman explained that the meeting was the "normal sort of thing we have been doing since the end of the war."

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** reporting from Berlin that many Germans have bought vials of poison, wrote:

Western powers must now decide whether to enlist the armed support of the potentially strongest and most faithful allies in Europe or let them liquidate themselves in the face of Soviet invasion.



Franc-Tireur, Paris

"You sure you have the right address?"

FRANCO IS IN: The U.S. seemed ready to call on its "most faithful allies," but still had to win the consent of older allies. France is bitterly opposing German rearmament. Secret visits of German ex-officers to London were reported by **U.S. News** to have resulted in an agreement that the Germans would have to be content with a "highly motorized" force in a West European army. One top U.S. official was stumped by the problem of German rearmament. He asked a U.S. correspondent:

"The old line generals are back, the old line Ruhr industrialists are back. Now if we bring back the generals, what chance have we of ever creating a democratic Germany?"

The Senate moved last week to include another one-time enemy in the U.S. embrace. It voted 65-15 to put Fascist Spain in the Marshall Plan through a $100,000,000 loan. This sustained British reports of last spring that Sec. Acheson and the Pentagon are insisting on inclusion of Franco in the Atlantic Pact.

TROUBLE IN PARADISE: Acheson, questioned on the Senate action, said the State Dept. opposed not the loan itself but its inclusion in a Marshall Plan appropriation—since the U.S. could not determine unilaterally the affairs of the European Council of the Marshall Plan. Behind his statement is the fact that no British Labor leader could approve giving Franco "respectability" through the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact or the UN, without splitting the Labour Party from end to end. A French government would face similar difficulties.

U.S military men have been active in Spain for the past year. J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign minister of the Spanish Republic, cabled **The Nation** July 12:

For months various American Senators, Representatives, and military men have been demanding the inclusion of Franco in the Atlantic system and have described Franco's army as one of the best in Europe. Warnings that if Franco, in the event of a new war in Europe, ordered a general mobilization, the Spanish soldiers would turn their guns against the dictator have been laughed off by the experts of the State Dept. and the Pentagon as the wishful thinking of exiles. But I still insist that what has occurred in Korea would be repeated in Spain: the people would not fight to keep a detested regime in power.

DOLLARS & BLOOD: In Washington last week President Truman asked another $4,000,000,000 in addition to the $1,225,500,000, already voted for his anti-Soviet alliance. (For U.S. rearmament he asked another $1,000,000,000 in addition to the $10,500,000,000 already demanded.) Turkey, a World War II "neutral" friendly to Nazi Germany, asked to join the Atlantic Pact.

In Belgium, the people showed they still wouldn't stomach Nazi collaborationism. By strikes and mass demonstrations they forced King Leopold, who collaborated with the Nazis, to yield his royal prerogative to Crown Prince Baudouin at once and to promise to abdicate Sept. 7, 1951.

FREEDOMS

1,000 cops smash N.Y. peace rally

FOR 100 years New York City's Union Square has been used as a public forum by anyone who wanted to get up and speak his mind. Last week, for the first time in a century, a ban was placed on free speech there by Mayor William O'Dwyer and his police department which was upheld by a State Supreme Court judge. But New Yorkers, variously estimated at 2,000 to 15,000, defied the ban to assemble under the sponsorship of the N.Y. Labor Conference for Peace.

What was intended as a solemn plea for an end to war was turned into a bloody shambles of violence by 1,000 police—the greatest concentration ever brought together in New York to deny the right of assembly. Veteran newsmen were shocked at the brutality. Sid Kline of the N.Y. **Daily Compass** wrote:

I have just seen friendly, bantering policemen transformed in a matter of minutes into fiery, hate-filled zealots, clubbing, punching, kicking, and in some cases riding down with horses men and women... There was, I believe, a will to murder in their hearts and they lashed out, I believe, with sadistic joy. As I write this I am sick at heart...

REVOLTING SIGHT: For an hour and 20 minutes the demonstrators held what ground they could against the cops mounted and on foot. When they were finally dispersed from Union Square some assembled further uptown at Madison Square—only to suffer the same violence.

It was impossible to compile a total of all hurt and injured, but by-standing women screamed and men were nauseated at the beatings they witnessed. William McCarthy, a merchant seaman, possibly would lose an eye from the mauling he took when cops and firemen pulled him down from atop a light pole where he displayed a placard urging peace. Fourteen demonstrators were arrested, some of them on charges of attacking the police.

In a bitter wire to Mayor O'Dwyer the Labor Conference said:

You did yourself proud. Your mounted police trampled on the advocates of peace. It will impress the world with our government's devotion to free assembly, free speech and the love of peace...

Ted Thackrey, editor and publisher of the **Compass,** wrote: "Our democracy is not dying—it is being clubbed to death."

C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progressive Party, wired Pres. Truman:

Unless you move immediately to protect the rights of citizens of New York and throughout the country, who seek by peaceful means a peaceable settlement in Korea and the outlawing of the atomic bomb, they will have no alternative but to regard your words as a hollow mockery, and all people devoted to our traditions of free speech will recognize the gross hypocrisy of your position.

Drawing by Fred Wright

Mayor O'Dwyer sneered at the protests, said the police had handled the situation in their "usual splendid manner."

U.S. declares war on militant Negroes

TWO of the nation's top progressive Negro leaders were being violently pushed around by the U.S. government last week. The State Dept. canceled the passport of Paul Robeson, regarded by many as one of the greatest Americans of his time. William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, was called a "black son of a bitch" by Rep. Henderson Lanham (D-Ga.) during a hearing before the House Lobbying Commitee.

Robeson's attorneys wired Secy. of State Dean Acheson for a conference to explain the passport invalidation. They said:

It is important to note that Mr. Robeson's ability to earn a living is conditioned on his right to travel abroad. He has invitations to concerts in European countries, in Israel, in the Caribbean, in Australia, and elsewhere. The action of the State Dept. arbitrarily cuts off the right of this American citizen to earn a living.

The Council on African Affairs, which Robeson heads as chairman, said:

The jailing of innocent people, the curtailment of freedom of speech and political dissent, and now the government's infringing the right of travel mark the progress to the fascist state in America. . . . The State Dept.'s action will most certainly have the effect of adding to the distrust and enmity which the peoples of Asia and Africa feel toward the American government as a result of its leading role today in maintaining colonial and feudal regimes and blocking the liberal struggles of the Korean and other oppressed colored peoples.

FRUITS OF KOREA: Congressman Lanham insulted Patterson when, after two hours of questioning, Patterson called the government of Georgia "a lynch government." Lanham shouted his invective several times, raced around the hearing table and attempted to strike the CRC leader. He was restrained by guards. Commented Patterson later:

The violence and terror practiced against the Negro people in America for the past 330 years is now being practiced in the very meeting rooms of Congress. Force and violence against Negro Americans is an official policy of all branches of U.S. government.

WILLIAM PATTERSON
A new low in Congress

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.), denounced Lanham as being in contempt of Congress and added:

The ill will which racists hold toward the Negro people is coming to the surface, brought there by the unjust war against other colored people, the Koreans.

The CRC wired to Pres. Truman and Chairman Buchanan (D-Pa.), demanded of House Speaker Sam Rayburn that Lanham be disciplined for conduct unprecedented in Congress.

Earlier Patterson had refused to surrender to the committee records and membership lists of the CRC, arguing that the organization was not a lobby. The committee's counsel announced he would move to have Patterson cited for contempt.

'Big lie' jails Harry Bridges

LAST WEEK Asst. Atty. Gen. F. Joseph Donohue went into a Federal district court in San Francisco and asked that West Coast Longshore leader Harry Bridges be jailed immediately by revoking his bail of $25,000. He argued that since his release on bail Bridges

"has pursued and will continue to pursue ...a course of conduct and activities dangerous and detrimental to the public welfare and inimical to the safety and national security of the United States of America."

His dangerous activities: he spoke before his own union local in support of a resolution calling for UN mediation of the Korean conflict as an alternative to one backing U.S. intervention. Bridges' resolution lost.

THE FACTS ARE: Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, charged the government's action was based on the "big lie" technique, issued this statement:

"Neither Bridges nor any other officer has proposed the stopping or picketing of shipments to Korea.

"Neither Bridges nor any other officer opposed PROPER security measures...

"Bridges warned against allowing the war hysteria to be used to split and weaken the union, to destroy the hiring hall, or to wreck conditions. He warned against any type of security program that could be used for blacklisting, and explained how in World War II we did a good job on security and at the same time protected the membership."

Judge George B. Harris, who presided at Bridges' trial, ruled in favor of the government. On Saturday Bridges was led away to the county jail. To his wife and two daughters he said: "No tears, now." For all others he had a warning:

"I believe right now anyone who speaks his personal opinion on the subject of Korea is in danger."

Over the weekend his attorneys planned another court fight for his release; on Monday they were ready to go to a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals seeking reinstatement of bail, or Bridges' release on habeas corpus proceedings pending a new hearing.

Dmytryshyn case goes on

In New York City the government was still trying to establish the principle of guilt by association in the deportation proceedings against Andrew Dmytryshyn, vice-president of the American Ukrainian Union of the International Workers Order.

Twenty prominent educators, religious and civic leaders said it was

...shocking to see the Justice Dept. attempt to use the deportation laws in order to harass and intimidate non-citizens because of mere membership in the International Workers Order or any other legally constituted organization.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS: Liberty for all in the U.S. was seen as ending if the Hobbs Bill, already passed by the House, is adopted by the Senate. Rev. Stephen S. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, said:

"Unless decisive action is demanded of our senators against this detention camp legislation, we will soon see men and women of courage and devotion to our democratic faith languishing behind barbed wires."

Attorney Carol King warned the bill would specifically destroy for aliens the traditional U.S. right to the protection of habeas corpus proceedings to test the legality of detention. The measure provides for indefinite imprisonment without bail for aliens whose home lands won't accept them as deportees.

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NO HEARINGS: Other protests poured into the office of Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), whose Senate Judiciary Committee attempted to report out the bill without public hearings. Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, called the move "an attempt to railroad fascist legislation through Congress in an atmosphere of war hysteria."

Also denouncing the measure were the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the United Office and Professional Workers Union, Dr. James A. Blaisdell, president emeritus of Claremont College in California, and Rabbi Henry Cohen of Temple B'nai Israel in Galveston, Tex.

Circuit court OKs jail for Communists

THE record totaled 20,000 printed pages; the briefs were voluminous; the bulk of the exhibits was enormous. But in five weeks the three-man U.S. Court of Appeals had studied the mass of material and had rendered a unanimous verdict: the conviction of the 11 top leaders of the U.S. Communist Party was upheld: the Smith Act under which they were tried was declared constitutional. The trial had taken nine months; lawyers marveled at the speed with which the appeals court had reached a decision.

The court itself gave the clue in a concurring opinion written by Judge Harrie B. Chase:

> As this is being written, fifth-column activities are aiding the North Koreans in their war against the United Nations.
>
> Again, the President has just now warned all citizens and police officers to be watchful of spies, sabotage and other subversive activities.

"COLD WAR CRIMES": Defense attorney Abraham J. Isserman said the case "has been shaped to political needs" and that the 11 leaders are now being accused of "newly-invented cold-war crimes."

The court's opinion was written by Judge Learned Hand and was based largely on the concept of a "clear and present danger" which till now has been accepted by lawyers as meaning what it says. But Judge Hand interpreted the word "present" to refer to a probable danger in the future:

> Given the same probability it would be irrational to condone future evils which we should prevent if they were immediate; that could be reconciled only by an indifference to those who come after us.

In Washington a Justice Dept. spokesman declined to comment on the department's plans for further prosecutions under the Smith Act; but it was believed the government's timetable had been revised since the Korean war and that new cases might be instituted before a final Supreme Court ruling.

THE NEXT STEPS: The defense has until Aug. 16 to apply to the Court of Appeals for a re-hearing; if that is denied the next step will be an application for a writ of certiorari from the U.S. Supreme Court in October.

Mundt Bill danger great; act now

GUARDIAN's Washington correspondent John B. Stone last week sent this sober warning:

> Veteran observers on Capitol Hill were unanimous in the gloomy prediction that the Mundt-Ferguson police state bill in most of its essentials will be passed by both houses of Congress as soon as the first priority bills for military and industrial mobilization are disposed of. Many observers feared the conference of leaders from all parts of the country called for Aug. 9 here by Jerry O'Connell, head of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, might be too late.

The danger became alarming early in the week when the House Committee on Un-American Activities abruptly closed hearings on the measure, refusing to hear at least 12 witnesses who had been promised an opportunity to speak against it.

In the Senate the Administration was still planning to introduce the Internal Security bill amended to include some Mundt bill features, but Sens. Mundt (R-S.D.) and Ferguson (R-Mich.) were ready to amend it by substituting the entire Mundt bill.

DEMOCRACY ITSELF: The American Civil Liberties Union sponsored a letter to all members of the Senate urging defeat of the bill on the grounds that "one tremendous weapon in the arsenal of democracy is democracy itself." These organizations supported the ACLU letter:

> American Assn. of University Professors, Americans for Democratic Action, American Council on Human Rights, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Commitee, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, Congregational Churches of the USA, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Jewish Women, National Assn. of Jewish Center Workers, and CIO Textile Union.

All opponents to the bill were alerted to write their Senators immediately urging them to vote against the bill or any facsimile thereof.

Presto! $50 monthly becomes $50 daily

BY a ten to four vote of its City Council—predicted by every city newspaper the day before—Los Angeles became the first major U.S. city to decontrol rents. Rents jumped 20 to 60%; in one case, from $50 a month to $50 a day.

Last week the ten decontrolling councilmen were not quite sure of getting away with it. Angry tenants' groups demanded a grand jury investigation when a representative of the organized landlords said they had "influence" with the City Council. The AFL Retail Clerks Union, Local 770, was pushing a recall movement against the originator of the decontrol measure. Reports grew of similar moves against at least two other councilmen.

The CIO National Housing Committee asked President Truman to reestablish control in the interest of "war production." The Tenants Council meanwhile formed an attorneys' pool to resist evictions, launch triple-damage suits against rent-gouging landlords and suits to recover illegal bonuses.

In Chicago, area rent director Norman B. Shogren announced a "new, simplified plan" affecting about 250,000 tenants whose rents have not been hiked since June 30, 1947. Under the plan landlords with no more than "four rental units" fill out a one-page application, wait 30 days, then start collecting a virtually automatic 15% increase. Tenants "may file objections" after the increase is granted, but Shogren indicated it would do them little good.

Sidney Ordower, Progressive Party senatorial candidate, said the PP would "do its utmost to stop this new steal by the real estate lobby, which has been aided so gallantly by the Truman Administration and Republican Party."

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SINCLAIR LEWIS' PREDICTION

Brother, who said it couldn't?

By Charlotte Parks

"For these U-nited States, alone among the nations of the world, have no desire for foreign conquest.... And the advocates of communism try to hold pacifist meetings. In the past five months less than 76 such orgies have been raided by their fellow students and no less than 59 disloyal Red students have received their just deserts by being beaten up so severely that never again will they rise in this free country."

YOU may remember the passage if you are of the generation that stopped and looked (only a few listened) when Sinclair Lewis published his prophetic novel **It Can't Happen Here** 15 years ago.

The speaker was booming Gen. Edways, one of the characters Lewis created as godfathers of American fascism in years then to come. If your brain is a mess as you struggle with the Korean problem, skyrocketing sugar and cigarette

prices, Mr. Malik and Mr. Austin, you may clarify some of it by reading or re-reading **It Can't Happen Here.** It is sobering to recall that in a happier time Lewis warned us how it **could** happen: not in the frankly pagan Hitler style, but in the familiar setting of fireplace and street, the radio programs, the minds of old friends and neighbors.

A LIBERAL LEARNS: Doremus Jessup, the hero, is editor of the **Daily Informer** in the small New England town of Ft. Beulah. The story starts with speechifying on Ladies' Night at the Rotary Club there. A liberal from his youth, Jessup "at public lectures always introduced Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Thomas and Admiral Byrd." He is a third cousin of Calvin Coolidge. He thinks he knows his town and the people in it. He has to learn the hard way.

In Buzz (Brezelius) Windrip, who becomes President-dictator, Lewis painted an obvious counterpart of Louisiana "Kingfish" Huey Long, aspirant for that position, whose career was cut short by a bullet in the 'thirties. Rising unexpectedly to power with Windrip is Shad Ledru, Jessup's former hired hand who is filled with hate for Jessup.

THE JESSUPS GO ON: Jessup learns that it Can Happen Here when, after setting up himself an editorial about Windrip which his printers refuse to set, he goes to prison and feels the torture whip on his own flesh. He sees the fallacies of his own and his fellow-Americans' past actions and thoughts, sees the true meaning of the firing of professors, the smear campaigns, the political lynchings. He becomes part of the underground, knowing at last that fascism can and has come to the U.S. under old-fashioned, traditional American names (just as Huey Long in real life said it would).

As Jessup flees to he knows not where, the book ends. "And still Doremus Jessup goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die."

(It Can't Happen Here is in most public libraries, and there is a cheap paper edition. The play based on the book, staged by the WPA Theatre, drew big audiences. A film version was made; it was put on the shelf where it still remains.)

●

Boost the National Guardian —the Peace Paper!

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Shopping refrigerator repairs

THESE hot days refrigerators work overtime and sometimes break down, with great expense to the owner. If you do have a breakdown, first check your guarantee. Most refrigerators have a five-year guarantee on the sealed mechanical unit; only one year on the rest of the box. If your guarantee is still good, get in touch with an official service station set up by the manufacturer of your brand. You'll find it listed in your local telephone Red Book.

But if you have to pay for the job yourself, make a phone check of independent repairmen specializing in refrigerators, as well as the manufacturer's official stations, to see who will do the job fastest **and** most cheaply.

SEVEN POINTS: You'll avoid breakdowns in hot weather if you follow these tips on care:

1. Never put hot food in the refrigerator.
2. Don't overcrowd it; leave room for air to circulate. Take out items that don't need refrigeration, such as pickles and unopened cans.
3. Keep the refrigerator out of the sun and, if possible, away from the stove. Have a space of at least two inches between the refrigerator and walls.
4. If the motor runs more than about one-third of the time, have it checked by a serviceman.
5. Make sure the door closes tightly, by closing it on a slip of paper. If the paper pulls out easily, there's leakage.
6. Defrost refrigerators once a week, or when the crust on the evaporator becomes a quarter-inch thick. The crust looks cool, but actually it insulates the evaporator and raises the temperature inside the box.
7. Keep the condenser (the series of metal fins) clean. A brush attachment on a vacuum cleaner is a handy way to do it, but be sure you disconnect the refrigerator.

Small luggage sturdiest

Tests made by the National Bureau of Standards (luggage was sent on a 12,000-mile trip around the country) disclosed two good shopping tips:

● Inexpensive bags made of vulcanized fibreboard actually stood up better than expensive leather luggage. But bags of plain fibreboard were found fragile.

● Smaller bags break less frequently than large ones.

In buying luggage, be sure that hardware and locks are firmly attached. Damage to these parts occurred frequently during the tests.

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Will the stormtroopers take over America?

By Lawrence Emery

As the Truman Administration pulls the U. S. further into the disastrous bog of intervention in Asia and a full-fledged war economy, violence grows against Americans who stand up for their Constitutional right to protest and resist. The GUARDIAN has from its inception in 1948 pointed out that these are two sides of the same coin: no country can defend liberty at home while attacking it abroad. Only in the measure that the fight against our war policy succeeds can the fight against destruction of our Constitutional rights succeed. Nor can this fight—or any other fight, as MacArthur's debacle in Korea illustrates—be won unless we understand the nature, strength and tactics of the enemy. The nationwide report below will help progressives to appraise the situation realistically.

Most of the current violence, "legal" and otherwise, is nominally directed against "communists." The reports confirm the historical lesson of Germany, that any assault on the liberties of Communists must quickly develop into—indeed, is a mere facade for—an assault on all political and "racial" minorities.

ON July 24 President Truman urged U. S. citizens to spy on U. S. citizens for any signs of "subversive activities," report them promptly to the FBI. His appeal was directed to "all patriotic organizations and individuals." Three days later FBI director J. Edgar Hoover spelled out what the government considered subversive: he specified "some peace groups and civil rights organizations."

For weeks before the President and the FBI chief advocated snooping of neighbor upon neighbor as part of the American way of life, there had been sporadic outbreaks of violence against peace petition circulators and other "subversives." With government sanction, the process of repression is now stepped up. Around the country these things were happening:

California

LOS ANGELES: Frank Zaffina, a Santa Fe railroad detective and car inspector, organized a small mob "to work over a bunch of commies" in the local Chrysler plant, savagely beat up four workers as they left the plant. Said Zaffina:

> "The night that Truman gave his radio speech I couldn't sleep. And it came to me about the communists working in the Chrysler plant."

He later admitted he knew none of his victims and was surprised to learn that three were veterans.

The City Council began consideration of a resolution requiring all Communists to register with the police. The city's AFL Central Labor Council unanimously adopted a resolution urging federal detention of all Communists. An American Legion post announced it had the signatures of 600 representatives of 50 organizations on petitions urging the Communist Party be outlawed. A District Court of Appeal upheld a city ordinance requiring loyalty oaths from city employes, approved dismissal of 17 workers who refused to sign. Loyalty oaths for teachers were adopted in two nearby towns, Pasadena and Riverside.

BURBANK: Three women arrested for distributing leaflets before an aircraft plant protesting U. S. intervention in Korea.

LONG BEACH: Two women arrested for soliciting signatures to the World Peace Appeal.

PASADENA: Two women arrested for selling the left-wing newspaper **Daily Peoples World.** American Civil Liberties Union attorneys won a court order restraining the city from enforcing an old ordinance under which the arrests were made.

SACRAMENTO: The State Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board ruled that any worker fired for refusing to sign a loyalty oath would be disqualified for unemployment insurance.

SAN FRANCISCO: State Un-American Activities Commitee called upon the State Board of Education to institute loyalty oaths in all state colleges.

New Jersey

LINDEN: Two workers, advocating U. S. non-intervention in Korea, beaten by 25 men; two others ordered out of the plant by the company. Later the United Auto Workers local suspended all four, planned to try them for "actions detrimental to the local union and its members."

Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE: A squad of "not more than 20 men" (according to one of the victims) bodily threw out of the Nash Kelvinator Seaman body plant eight workers who signed the World Peace Appeal. Roy Webb, 55, was thrown to the ground with such force his back was broken. The company later fined two of the victims, told five others to take 30-day leaves. Webb's attorney, M. Michael Essin, blamed the company for the assault; charged that two company officials witnessed the attacks and could name the assailants; accused the Milwaukee **Journal** of "responsibility for inciting and building up an artificial hysteria." No arrests made; Webb hounded from his home by neighbors.

Vie Nuove, Rome

SPYMANIA, U. S. A.

Texas

HOUSTON: Starting with a charge by a housewife that a peace petition circulator twisted her arm when she tried to tear up his petition, press and police stirred up enough excitement to bring out a mob that stoned the home of Jack Green, local Communist Party leader. Newspapers reported Green was forced to leave town. Three young men in an automobile were arrested on suspicion of the arm-twisting, later released with orders to leave the city. Quantities of literature found in their car were held. A young woman peace petitioner was driven out of the Carpenters union hall. An attorney who has represented progressive groups was arrested for being the only white man at a Negro meeting. Newspapers gave prominence to a message addressed to "saboteurs", signed "The Secret Unit":

> We promise faithfully that you will be strung up by the neck and your body riddled with hot lead.

Washington

VANCOUVER: Mrs. Gussie Work, 67-year-old active member of the Progressive Party and the Washington Pension Union, arrested for "trespass" while gathering signatures on the Stockholm peace pledge. Her pension union local unanimously voted to raise funds for her legal defense, began rallying other organizations to her support.

Pennsylvania

PITTSBURGH: Common Pleas Court Judge Michael Musmanno, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, made radio demand for internment of local Communist leaders, stirred up a renewed press campaign against "subversives." An immediate result: mob stoning of the home of Calvin Brook, editor of a progressive Slovak language weekly. Brook forced to move to protect his wife and baby. No arrests made.

PHILADELPHIA: The home of Mrs. Eleanor Jordan, candidate for the state legislature on the Progressive Party ticket, was stoned and debris was thrown through the broken window. Said Mrs. Jordan:

> "A cowardly expression of racial animosity . . . I shall campaign for improved community relations, so that the several thousands of Negroes who live in this area can live in peace and harmony with our neighbors without fear of anti-racial outbreaks such as was visited upon my family."

HARRISBURG: Gov. Duff held a conference of 45 top leaders of industry, labor, public utilities and transportation to adopt "plans to combat Communist-inspired sabotage," as the Philadelphia **Inquirer** put it. The conference decided to revive the state's industrial police force.

McKEESPORT: The City Council adopted a special ordinance that would require "all persons engaged in the promotion of Communist activities" to register with the police. District Council 6, United Electrical Workers, protested it as an anti-labor measure. One Communist leader was arrested, another escorted from town when they protested.

Nevada

LAS VEGAS, RENO: Organized employer groups using vigilante methods in an effort to drive trade unions out of the state. Reports **CIO News:**

> The employers' posse is inciting lynch mobs, threatening to tar and feather union men, putting pressure on fair employers to stop recognizing legitimate unions, and threatening public officials.

Iowa

IOWA CITY: Officials of the State University banned peace petitions from the school's classroms. They had been circulated among students by the Iowa City for Peace Club.

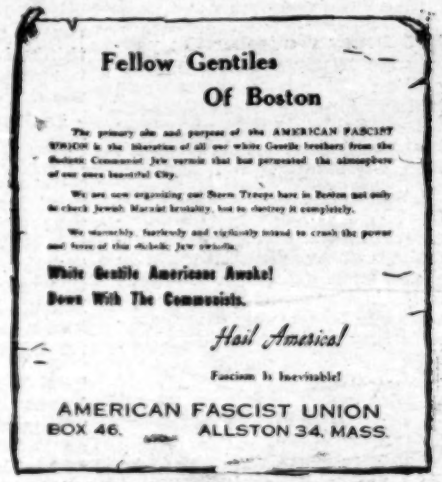
Alabama

BIRMINGHAM: Hastily-enacted local ordinance outlaws Communist Party by making it "unlawful for any officer or member of the CP of this or any other country or countries to be within the corporate limits or police jurisdiction of the City of Birmingham." Communists defied it in a statement to Birmingham papers: "The Communist Party is in Birmingham to stay." Later thousands of leaflets urging peace, signed "Alabama Communist Party," were scattered over the downtown area from the top of a 10-story building. Other cities, including Gary, Ind., Peoria, Ill., and Chattanooga, Tenn., are reported to have asked for copies of the Birmingham ordinance.

Massachusetts

BOSTON: Two members of the Young Progressives of America are serving ten-day jail sentences for refusing to answer in a city court the question: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" They had been arrested for displaying at a recent Revere Beach picnic these placards: "Young Progressives of America—We Want Peace," "Schools and Homes — Not Atom Bombs." Justice John MacLeod opened the trial by calling Communists "not a political party, but thieves and murderers."

Anti-Semitic groups revived their activities with distribution of a leaflet calling upon all "white, gentile Americans to destroy Jewish-Marxist brutality." There was vandalism in one Jewish cemetery; several Jewish youths were beaten by gangs in Dorchester and Roxbury.



Fellow Gentiles
Of Boston

The primary aim and purpose of the AMERICAN FASCIST UNION is the liberation of all our white Gentile brothers from the Judaic Communist Jew vermin that has permeated the atmosphere of our once beautiful City.

We are now organizing our Storm Troops here in Boston not only to check Jewish Marxist brutality, but to destroy it completely.

We vigorously, fearlessly and viciously intend to crush the power and force of this sickelic Jew menace.

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Down With The Communists.

Hail America!

Fascism Is Inevitable!

AMERICAN FASCIST UNION
BOX 46. ALLSTON 34, MASS.

IN THE CRADLE OF LIBERTY
Literature handed out in Boston

Ohio

CLEVELAND: Mayor Thomas A. Burke announced that a "continuous security check" is being made of all city employes connected with the water works and municipal light plant. The check is being conducted by the police dept. "red squad," which said it had a list of all known and suspected Communists in the city. The list is being made available to industrial employers.

Michigan

DETROIT: The Common Council adopted an ordinance banning sale on city streets of the **Daily Worker** and four other publications classified as "subversive." When one downtown newsstand defied the ban, the council ordered police to tear it down as "a nuisance to peace and safety."

The City administration directed a newly-formed Loyalty Investigating Committee to conduct a screening of every city employe.

LANSING: Rejecting a Republican-sponsored bill that would transform the State Police into a Gestapo, Gov. G. Mennen Williams announced he would appeal to the legislature for funds to enlarge the State Police by formation of a special "security squad."

New York

One Navy veteran was sentenced to a year in jail and four other persons were given six-month sentences for painting peace slogans in Brooklyn's Prospect Park. County Judge George J. Joyce, once a law partner of Mayor O'Dwyer, told the defendants: "You were stabbing our Korean boys in the back." (The five were arrested on Memorial Day; Korean hostilities began nearly a month later.)

At the Jackson Heights veterans' barracks project a peace meeting in one of the homes was attacked by a mob of 200, which stoned the house and threatened the participants. One man was slugged and his car tires slashed. The following night the mob stoned the house again. The occupant is a disabled vet confined to a wheel chair.

In Brighton Beach a force of 20 police refused to interfere when a mob attacked a street-corner peace rally.

SYRACUSE: The Common Council directed the city attorney to render an opinion on the city's power to outlaw the Communist Party.